

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 0565

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, MOPS, UNSC, ET, SO
SUB: HORN OF AFRICA: HOPES DIM FOR AFRICAN AGREEMENT TO
SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION

REF: USUN 551

SUMMARY: SOUNDINGS FEB. 16 INDICATE AFRICAN AND NON-ALIGNED SENTIMENT HARDENING AGAINST WESTERN INITIATIVE ON HORN IN SECURITY COUNCIL. OPPOSITION STEMS NOT SO MUCH FROM WORDING OF DRAFT RESOLUTION (PROVIDED IT IS SEEN AS "BALANCED") BUT FROM AFRICAN AND NONALIGNED FEAR THAT WESTERN INITIATIVE IN COUNCIL WOULD INTENSIFY EAST-WEST ELEMENTS OF CONFLICT. AND WITH OAU MEDIATION EFFORT STILL ALIVE, AFRICANS ARE LOATH TO APPROACH THE COUNCIL THEMSELVES. IF US WANTS COUNCIL SESSION ON THE HORN, WE WILL HAVE TO DO SOME SERIOUS ARM TWISTING IN CAPITALS, PARTICULARLY LAGOS. END SUMMARY.

1. WESTERN FIVE CONTINUED DISCUSSION WITH AFRICAN AND
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NON-ALIGNED MEMBERS OF SECURITY COUNCIL FEB. 16 ON QUESTION OF SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION ON HORN. IF ANYTHING, AFRICAN AND NON-ALIGNED SENTIMENT AGAINST A WESTERN INITIATIVE IN THE COUNCIL ON THE HORN HAS HARDENED OVER THE LAST WENTY-FOUR HOURS. EVEN A RESOLUTION PERVEIVED AS "BALANCED" WOULD, AT THIS POINT, PROBABLY FAIL TO GAIN NINE VOTES IN COUNCIL, ASSUMING WE WERE ABLE TO GAIN

NINE VOTES TO INSCRIBE THE ITEM.

2. BISHARA (KUWAIT) CITED THE "ENORMOUS DIFFERENCE" WESTERN SPONSORSHIP VERSUS AFRICAN SPONSORSHIP OF A RESOLUTION ON THE HORN WOULD MAKE TO ITS ACCEPTABILITY AMONG AFRICAN AND NON-ALIGNED MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL. THE ONLY REASON THE CHAD COMPLAINT WAS INSCRIBED, HE SAID, WAS BECAUSE THERE WAS NO WESTERN HAND IN THE EFFORT. INDIA (JAIPAL) AND MAURITIUS (RAMPHUL) TERMED THE WESTERN EFFORT A "NO-WIN GAME". JAIPAL SAID THAT HE "WOULDN'T TOUCH IT WITH A BARGE POLE". IT WOULD, HE SAID, "REINTRODUCE THE COLD WAR" INTO THE COUNCIL. RAMPHUL HAS REPORTED THAT "NONE" OF THE MEMBERS OF THE AFRICAN GROUP WERE "ENTHUSIASTIC" NIGERIA (ADEYEMI) TOLD MISSOFF THAT WHILE DRAFT WESTERN "ELEMENTS" (WITH CALL FOR FOEGIN TROOP WITHDRAWAL ONLY "FROM TERRITORY COVERED BY THE CONFLICT") WERE FINE, NIGERIA STILL OPPOSED ANY COUNCIL ACTION AT THIS TIME ON GROUNDS OF ONGOING OAU INITIATIVE. NIGERIA PROBABLY WOULD ABSTAIN ON VOTE TO IN-SCRIBE ITEM. GABON PERMREP'S (N'DONG) INSTRUCTIONS REMAIN TO OPPOSE ANY COUNCIL ACTION AT THIS TIME.

3. AT MEETING OF WESTERN FIVE LATE FEBRUARY 16, MEMBERS AGREED THAT PROSPECTS WERE DIM FOR INSCRIPTION OF ITEM, EVEN WITH LATEST CHANGE IN LANGUAGE ON TROOP WITHDRAWALS (CALLING FOR WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN TROOPS "FROM TERRITORY COVERED BY THE CONFLICT"). FOUR REGARDED THAT CHANGE AS POSITIVE, WITH FRENCH RESERVING THEIR FINAL POSITION ON IT PENDING INSTRUCTIONS. FIVE
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AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT IT WAS NOW EVIDENT THAT KEY PROBLEM WAS NO LONGER TEXT OF DRAFT RESOLUTION BUT PRINCIPLE OF WEST TAKING INITIATIVE. THERE WAS A BROAD AND DEEP FEELING AMONG AFRICANS AND NON-ALIGNED THAT MATTER SHOULD REST WITH OAU AS LONG AS THAT EFFORT RETAINED HOPE OF SUCCESS. WESTERN INITIATIVE IN THEIR EYES RISKED HIGHLIGHTING OF EAST-WEST ELEMENTS OF STRUGGLE WHICH AFRICANS AND NON-ALIGNED VERY MUCH WISHED TO AVOID. SEVERAL AFRICANS HAVE QUESTIONED WESTERN MOTIVES, REMINDING US THAT OUR CONVERN FOR TERITORIAL INTEGRITY AND CEASE FIRES WAS NOT VERY EVIDENT WHEN IT WAS THE ETHIOPIANS ON THE DEFENSIVE.

4. FREANCE (DUQUE) READ INSTRUCTIONS FROM PARIS WHICH STATED THAT IF SIAD COULD NOT BE PERSUADED TO DECLARE HIS INTENTION TO WITHDRAW HIS FORCES, AND IF THE AFRICANS REMAINED RELUCTANT TO SEE COUNCIL ACT, THEN FRANCE "WONDERED IF IT WAS NECESSARY TO CARRY ON THE EXERCISE". HE ALSO READ A REPORT FROM THE FRENCH EMBASSY IN LIBREVILLE TO THE EFFECT THAT GABON PRESIDENT BONGO 1) AGREED WITH THE THRUST OF THE (ORIGINAL) DRAFT "ELEMENTS", 2) WAS SKEPTICAL OF THE PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS OF OAU MEDIATION EFFORTS, 3) THOUGHT THAT ONLY "UN FORCES" COULD PUT AN END TO THE CONFLICT AND 4) CALLED ON HTE US "TO ASSUME ITS RE-

SPONSIBILITIES" IN THE HORN.

5. AMBASSADOR LEONARD RELAYED A SUGGESTION FROM INDIAN PERMREP JAIPAL THAT PERHAPS A PRIVATE APPROACH BY NONALIGNED COUNTRIES TO COUNCIL PRESIDENT TROYONOVSKY MIGHT BE MORE EFFECTIVE THAN PUBLIC WESTERN INITIATIVE IN PROMOTING AND TO HOSTILITIES.

6. FIVE AGREED THAT AFRICAN RESISTANCE TO COUNCIL MEETING ON HORN COULD NOT BE OVERCOME IN NEW YORK. IF FIVE REALLY WANTED MEETING, ARMS WOULD HAVE TO BE SERIOUSLY TWISTED IN AFRICAN CAPITALS, PARTICULARLY LAGOS.

7. COMMENT: EVEN "ELEMENTS" OF A DRAFT RESOLUTION ACKNOWLEDGED AS "BALANCED" ARE NOT ENOUGH TO SWING AFRICAN AND NON-ALIGNED OPINION, AT LEAST IN NEW YORK. THEIR PRIMARY CONCERN IS FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF NOT "INTERNATIONALIZING"
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THE CONFLICT, ESPECIALLY WHEN THERE IS ANY HOPE FOR SUCCESS LEFT IN AN AFRICAN MEDIATION EFFORT.

LEONARD

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